C35

Library

A MESSAGE

from the

NATIONAL STUDY CONFERENCE

on the

CHURCHES AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

"We here and now in the presence of God, who has made of one blood all nations of the world, do hereby dedicate ourselves to a ministry of love, forebearance and reconciliation to the people of all lands. We call upon our fellow-Christians to join with us and with each other in a common purpose to continue in this ministry by His power in spite of unforeseen contingencies, to the end that Christ may be exhalted and His Church stand uncompromised and undivided."

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
February 27-29, 1940

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2022 with funding from
Columbia University Libraries

https://archive.org/details/messagefromnatio00nati_0

TABLE OF CONTENTS

page

INTRODUCTION 4

I. THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT AND THE PEACE AND WAR PROBLEM 7
- A. Tasks of Churches in Time of War 7
- B. Toward a World Fellowship of Christians 8
- C. Churches of World Urged to Study Bases of Durable Peace 9
- D. Dedication 10

II. THE CHURCHES AND AMERICAN POLICY 10
- A. Domestic Policy 11
- B. A Negotiated Peace 11
- C. The United States and the World Community . . . 12
- D. International Economic Cooperation 13
- E. Colonies 14
- F. The Conflict in East Asia 14

III. MISSIONS AND THE WORLD CRISIS 19
- A. The Forward Movement of Christian Missions . . . 20
- B. War Versus the Christian Gospel 20
- C. A Blueprint of Action for Christians to Advance the Missionary Enterprise 21

IV. THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR IN WAR TIME 22
- A. Declarations of Oxford Conference (1937) 22
- B. Liberty of Conscience 24
- C. The Churches and Conscientious Objectors 24
  Registration of conscientious objectors—military conscription—special privileges not desired.
- D. Services by Conscientious Objectors in Peace and War . 25
- E. Recommendation to Federal Council of Churches . . 26

V. RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHURCHES IN RELIEVING SUFFERING CAUSED BY WAR 27

VI. THE LOCAL CHURCH AND THE WORLD CRISIS 28
- A. Principles of Action for the Local Church 29
- B. Programs of Action for the Local Church 31

VII. ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS 34
- A. Transmitting the Results of the Conference to the Churches 34
- B. A United Peace Campaign 35

INTRODUCTION

THE National Study Conference on the Churches and the International Situation met in the First Baptist Church, Philadelphia, Pa., February 27, 28 and 29, 1940. Invitations to attend the Conference were issued by the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in cooperation with the Committee on International Relations of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America.

The 285 delegates were named by the appropriate agencies of their respective communions. They came from many parts of the country and represented a substantial cross section of the mind of the churches on the peace and war problem. The Message adopted by the Conference is herewith printed in full. Copies of the Message have been transmitted to the heads of all of the participating bodies for such action as these bodies deem to be proper. It should be pointed out that the delegates spoke only for themselves, and in no sense for the communions which they represented.

The Conference was divided into the following six Seminars: The Ecumenical Movement and the Peace and War Problem, The Churches and American Policy, Missions and the World Crisis, The Conscientious Objector in War Time, The Responsibility of the Churches in Relieving Suffering Caused by War, and the Local Church and the World Crisis.

The Chairmen of the Seminars in the order named were Theodore A. Greene, Pastor, New Britain, Connecticut; Luman J. Shafer, Chairman of the Committee on International Relations of the Foreign Missions Conference; Leslie B. Moss, Secretary, Foreign Missions Conference; Merrill F. Clarke, Pastor, New Canaan, Connecticut; Wynn C. Fairfield, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; and W. Emory Hartman, Pastor, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

The Message embraces the recommendations of the Seminars submitted to and adopted by the Conference in plenary session.

James H. Franklin, President of Crozer Theological Seminary, presided at the Conference. Other officers of the Conference, including the secretaries and resource leaders of the Seminars, were Walter W. Van Kirk, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Lawrence H. French, Reformed Church in America; Richard Fagley, World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches; Herbert E. Benton, Pastor, Philadelphia, Pa.; Miss Elinor K. Purves, National Committee of Church Women; William Lampe, Secretary, General Synod, Evangelical and Reformed Church; Mrs. Betty Jacob, Friends General Conference; B. A. Garside, Associated Boards of Christian Colleges in China; Charles T. Leber, Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions; Arthur Jorgenson, Secretary in Japan, Interna-

tional Committee, Y.M.C.A.; W. Plumer Mills, Nanking, China, Missionary Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; John W. Decker, American Baptist Foreign Missions Society; Mrs. Katherine Silverthorn, National Committee of Church Women; A. L. Warnshuis, International Missionary Council; Harold Fey, Fellowship of Reconciliation; Raymond Wilson, American Friends Service Committee; John Lathrop, Pastor, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Mrs. Lovett Dewees, Glen Mills, Pa.; Harold Bender, Dean, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana; Elmore McKee, Pastor, New York; Mrs. Henry Hill Pierce, New York; Roswell P. Barnes, Federal Council of Churches; George W. Richards, Chairman of American Section of World Conference on Faith and Order; R. H. Edwin Espy, World Council of Churches; William Adams Brown, Chairman of Joint Executive Committee of American Section, Life and Work and Faith and Order Movements; Charles Boss, World Peace Commission, Methodist Church; Richard Wood, Friends Peace Committee; Linley Gordon, Church Peace Union; J. Henry Carpenter, Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation; James A. Crain, Executive Secretary, United Christian Missionary Society; Dorothy Detzer, National Committee of Church Women; John F. Rich, American Friends Service Committee; Fred Atkins Moore, Church Committee for China Relief; Conrad Hoffman, Foreign Missions Conference; Almon Pepper, Department of Christian Social Relations, Protestant Episcopal Church; Antonia Froendt, Secretary, Central Bureau for Inter-Church Aid.

The three plenary sessions of the Conference were addressed by John Foster Dulles, lawyer, New York; Henry Pitt Van Dusen, of Union Theological Seminary, and George A. Buttrick, President of the Federal Council of Churches.

The Worship Services of the Conferences were conducted by Bishop Herbert Welch, New York; Emil E. Fischer, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa.; Frederick Burnham, Pastor, Richmond, Va.; Ivan Murray Rose, Pastor, First Baptist Church, Philadelphia, Pa.; C. H. Tobias, National Council, Y.M.C.A.; and Bishop J. S. Stamm, of the Evangelical Church.

The communions sharing in the deliberations of the Conference were:

American Unitarian Association
National Baptist Convention
National Baptist Convention, Inc.
Northern Baptist Convention
Church of the Brethren
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church
Congregational and Christian Church
Disciples of Christ
Evangelical Church
Evangelical and Reformed Church
Five Years Meeting of Friends
Friends General Conference
Mennonite Church
Methodist Church
African Methodist Episcopal Church
African Methodist Episcopal Church, Zion
Moravian Church

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A
Protestant Episcopal Church
Reformed Church in America
Religious Society of Friends of Philadelphia and Vicinity
Salvation Army
Seventh Day Baptist Church
Society of Friends
United Brethren Church
United Lutheran Church in America
United Presbyterian Church of North America
Universalist Church

American Friends Service Committee
Church Peace Union
Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches
National Committee of Church Women
Committee on International Relations of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America
World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches
Young Men's Christian Association
Young Women's Christian Association

All inquiries regarding the Conference should be directed to WALTER W. VAN KIRK, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Additional copies of this message are available at the following rates: Single copy 15 cents, 5 copies 35 cents, in lots of 100 or more 5 cents per copy plus postage.

I. The Ecumenical Movement and the Peace and War Problem

WE believe that the churches of Jesus Christ as branches of the ecumenical movement, members of the one body, Una Sancta, which transcends nations, races and classes, have in their collective life, work and witness an indispensable contribution to make to the solution of the peace and war problem. This problem is essentially a problem of relationships between groups of human beings. Nations, no less than individuals, subsist under the governance of God; they are subject to moral law. We believe that the Christian Gospel and the Christian way of life are the answers to the world's desperate need in the area of international conflict.

We therefore urge the representatives of the ecumenical movement and of the churches which comprise it to devote themselves prayerfully, and courageously to the fulfillment of a world fellowship of Christians.

A. Tasks of Churches in Time of War

The churches should demonstrate in their own life and relationships a community more closely approximating the ideal of the family of God. This would require that they

1. Maintain the integrity of their essential fellowship in spite of the antagonisms and cleavages which set men over against each other in war. This is first of all a matter of the attitudes with which Christians regard one another,—preserving the "unity of the spirit in the bond of peace" which is in Christ. It may find expression in the common prayer life of Christians, in ecumenical groups and in correspondence and visitations. We recommend the continuance of conferences between Christian citizens of neutral and belligerent nations and visitations of individuals.

2. Seek to create a true ecumenical understanding of the issues which divide the peoples. The distortions resulting from censorship, the pressure of official propaganda and the whole system of psychological mobilization make it difficult to arrive at a just and accurate estimate of the needs, motives and purposes of nations.

3. Make their prayer, preaching and conversation truly Christian. Prayer must not degenerate into a means of national propaganda, but must be for peace and justice among the nations. God's will is the most important factor in every problem. To seek to know that will and receive power to perform it, Christians must constantly turn to God in prayer. While we may not forget our sense of solidarity with our own people and our respective nations, preaching must not seek to create hatred of other nations, but to cultivate goodwill towards all, not only to those within but also to those without the Christian fellowship; to spread the spirit of forgiveness and trust; to increase the habit of charitable judgment; to widen knowledge and understanding

of the causes of conflict—these things help to remove the psychological roots of war and are characteristic fruits of the spirit of Christ. War should not be presented as a holy crusade, but preaching should call men to repentance for a common sin, and urge the righteousness of God's Kingdom. We rejoice that, after six months of war in Europe, the churches in the belligerent countries have not generally become the agents of national policy in propaganda.

4. Bear one another's burdens. Some churches are much more heavily burdened by the war than are others,—spiritually, financially and in responsibility for pastoral and preaching service. One of the most difficult strains is that of a sense of loneliness in the face of agonizing perplexities. This loneliness is aggravated by the difficulties of communication resulting from war. The ecumenical movement should therefore promote the exchange of greetings, encourage correspondence and arrange for visitations of deputations and individuals across national frontiers. The churches with available material resources should undergird those that are especially hard-pressed by assisting them with their problems at home and on the mission field.

5. The churches as an ecumenical movement should energetically promote their common ministry of preaching and healing to the victims of conflict. They should

a. Provide an adequate sacramental, pastoral and preaching service to prisoners of war and to interned alien civilians.

b. Provide practical helpfulness and relief to refugees and other victims dislocated by war.

6. The churches, which have a concern for the welfare of all peoples, have a responsibility to contribute to the establishment of such a world order as will more effectively serve the ends of justice, liberty and right, and promote peace. In addition to demonstrating community in their own life and binding the world together by their ecumenical activity, the churches should, therefore,

a. Study the bases of a just and durable world order.

b. Induce among their own people and in the wider community in which their influence is felt a willingness to pay the price of justice and peace, which will involve concessions of immediate self-interest in terms of exclusive national sovereignty and economic advantage.

c. Urge statesmen to apply the principles of reconciliation and goodwill in the practical affairs of international relations.

d. Encourage and facilitate steps toward an early negotiated peace in the wars now in progress.

B. Toward a World Fellowship of Christians

We suggest the following means of practical application of the ecumenical spirit:

1. General use of common prayers in the churches and in family and personal devotions in all nations.

2. Simultaneous observance of the Lord's Supper in various nations.

3. Conferences between Christians of neutral nations and belligerent nations.

4. Visitations between neutrals and belligerents.

5. Correspondence between belligerents and between neutrals and belligerents.

6. Interchange of views concerning the needs, motives and purposes of various nations, including belligerents, cleared through the Study Department of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches or through neutral churchmen.

7. Interchange of sermons and prayers used in various churches.

8. Financial assistance to churches and pastors of hard-pressed churches.

9. Assistance on the mission fields to the missionaries of churches under the burden of war.

10. Release of a few of our most competent pastors for non-military chaplaincy service in prison camps.

11. Financing such chaplaincy service.

12. Financial assistance and Christian social service to refugees, and to civilians suffering from the devastations of war.

13. Organizing groups in local parishes which will accept the discipline of sacrificial giving to the extent of reduced standards of living *now* to provide for the assistance of others suffering in the present tragedy abroad.

14. Study of the bases of a just and durable peace by ecumenical conferences, exchange of memoranda, groups in local churches.

15. Collaboration between church agencies and governments in negotiations for the establishing of peace.

C. Churches of World Urged to Study Bases of Durable Peace

With a view to clarifying the mind of our churches in the United States regarding the moral, political and economic bases of a durable peace and to preparing the churches for assuming their appropriate responsibility for establishing those bases, we recommend that the churches distribute and study the findings of this conference and the memoranda available from the Study Department of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches.

At Oxford, in 1937, outstanding leaders of the Evangelical Churches of many nations defined the place and function of the Christian Church in the modern world. Again, in Geneva, in 1939, an International Conference of lay experts and ecumenical leaders, convened by the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches, agreed upon a definite statement of guiding principles for the solution of international problems and the development of a just international order.

In view of the existing international crisis, the declarations of the

Oxford and Geneva Conferences should now be implemented with specific recommendations looking toward the establishment of a world order of love, justice and freedom. This task is now being undertaken by commissions of inquiry in various belligerent and neutral countries and coordinated by the Study Department in Geneva.

We further recommend that plans be initiated by officers and staff of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches looking toward the assembling of a representative gathering of Christian leaders, clerical and lay, as soon as practicable after an armistice has been declared in any of the wars now being waged. The churches have both the right and the duty to share in the task of establishing peace. Unhindered by considerations of power politics, church leaders will be in a position to define policies expressing the Christian principles of goodwill, reconciliation and justice. If such principles received the support of the great body of Christians in all lands, the likelihood of achieving an enduring peace would be greatly enhanced.

D. Dedication

We here and now in the presence of God, who has made of one blood all nations of the world, do hereby dedicate ourselves to a ministry of love, forebearance and reconciliation to the people of all lands. We call upon all our fellow-Christians to join with us and with each other in a common purpose to continue in this ministry by His power in spite of unforeseen contingencies, to the end that Christ may be exalted and His Church stand uncompromised and undivided.

II. The Churches and American Policy

IN these tragic hours neither the Church nor the nation dare speak in self-righteousness. We are all implicated and share in the common guilt, though in differing degrees. The Church can only approach its task in the spirit of penitence and humility. A humble and a contrite heart, in men or nations, God will not despise.

Greatness is not measured by economic power, prestige, world imperialism and great navies, but rather, "He who would be great among you, let him be the servant of all." Moral and not material forces must finally prevail.

Justice and a new world order will not be realized by the ruthless use of force. No enduring peace can be built on vengeance. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy. . . . But I say unto you, Love your enemies." The truth alone can set men free.

We should give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar; but even to Caesars the Church must proclaim a moral order by which they and their rule are judged. Man's supreme loyalty is to God, not to the State.

These principles apply equally to individuals and to nations. They are the foundation on which an enduring and just world order must be built.

A. Domestic Policy

Since the Church regards mankind as a single spiritual brotherhood, we must come to recognize also that the world has developed into a single economic unit. We, therefore, believe that it is impossible wholly to divorce foreign policy from domestic policy and that any comprehensive program for peace must contain a synthesis of both. Moreover, we are convinced that a constructive, creative foreign policy can stem only from a domestic policy which is firmly rooted in democracy and which provides for adequate social security.

Thus we reject as a possible solution for unemployment the enormous armament program which would gear our country to a war economy. We reject it not only because we consider it false economy, but also because the whole system of competitive armaments is contrary to our Christian ideals.

We deprecate the growing tendency on the part of the army and navy to influence foreign policy. We, therefore, advocate the appointment of a Congressional Committee to consider the question of defense in its relation to foreign policy.

Just and considerate treatment for members of religious, racial and political minorities is required of Christian people. We cannot effectively make proposals for meeting these problems abroad unless our own actions and attitudes are consistent with the policies we support.

It is imperative that the churches, in the presence of growing anti-semitism, promote goodwill and cooperation with our Jewish fellow citizens.

We also urge the churches to support effective anti-lynching legislation.

There is an obligation on the Church of Christ to aid and succor those who may be victims of violence and oppression. As a practical step we call for a more enlightened and liberal immigration policy so that our great country can once more serve in its traditional role as a place of refuge. We call on our country to use its utmost resources—financial, industrial, and social—with all our goodwill and fullest understanding to help open the way to new homes for refugees.

We request the Federal Council of Churches to keep the churches informed regarding specific legislative proposals which require study and action.

B. A Negotiated Peace

Every human instinct revolts against the continuation of the present conflict in Europe, especially as the menace of total war becomes more imminent. We are convinced that there is ground for hope that a just peace is now possible by negotiation. It is important for the welfare of mankind that the conflict end, not in a dictated peace, but in a negotiated peace based on the interests of all the peoples concerned.

We, therefore, urge that the United States in collaboration with other neutral nations use every means available to bring about a nego-

tiated peace consistent with a just and fundamental settlement of the problems of Europe. To this end we urge the government to seek the aid of all nations not involved in the war in the creation among themselves of a permanent body for conference and conciliation.

Every day that hostilities continue brings nearer the threat of doom of civilization through active prosecution of unrestricted warfare which spares neither combatant nor civilian and which engulfs women and children and the aged as well as the prime of youth and manhood. Therefore, our churches are morally bound to use every means within their power to bring to the consciousness of their members the immediate necessity of a negotiated peace based on justice and the legitimate aspiration of peoples.

Further, we urge that the Churches recognize the urgent necessity of preparing Christian people, and public opinion generally, for such essential sacrifices of national self-interest as may be required to bring about a just and lasting peace.

C. The United States and the World Community

The United States must remain out of the present conflicts in Europe and the Far East. Our nation, however, can no longer avoid assuming its due share of responsibility for the establishment of a warless world through organization for effective control of matters of common interest. This demands a departure from our traditional policy of refusing to accept any substantial limitation of our national sovereignty.

It must now be clear that no nation has a right to be a law unto itself, or the sole judge of its own cause. If the peace which comes after the present war is to be anything more than a prelude to another conflict, the United States for its own sake and for the sake of humanity will have to renounce its political and economic isolation and identify itself with other nations in the creation of a world government. Only then will we be freed from the burdens of power politics.

In taking this position we subscribe to the declaration of the Oxford Conference (1937) that "A true conception of international order requires a recognition of the fact that the State, whether it admits it or not, is not autonomous, but is under the ultimate governance of God." If this Christian ideal of the State is to be incorporated in the relations of nations, law must be substituted for anarchy in world affairs.

Modern statism implemented by policies of unfettered national sovereignty, is a form of secularism against which we set ourselves. The State, in one form or another, is deified and made an object of worship. The demonic force engendered by the exercising of national sovereignty can only be mastered as nations are prepared to initiate policies consonant with the Christian world view. Over against the theory of the absolute sovereignty of the secular state there stands the sovereignty of God to which we give our primary allegiance.

We call upon our people to mobilize the spiritual resources of our churches in support of an international system of government. This is

not to say that nations can have no place in a Christian world order. Diversity of culture and manners among various peoples enriches the world society. A Christian world order does not presuppose the elimination of differences among peoples. What is required is that nation-states no less than individuals shall be made subject to a world system of law, and to a sense of mutual responsibility.

The churches, which in themselves transcend national frontiers, have a peculiar responsibility to help expand men's loyalties to include the whole number of the children of our Heavenly Father, and the world government required by their common needs.

D. International Economic Cooperation

A political world community could not of itself secure international goodwill and peace. Economic injustice, no less than political anarchy, breeds war. No system of world government which does not facilitate the easing of economic tension-points can vouchsafe peace to the world. If a permanent peace is to follow the present era of military hostilities, nations will have to renounce the practice of economic warfare. Reparations, embargoes, trade and currency restrictions, quotas and tariffs, no less than cannon and bombing planes, are potential instruments of war. These, too, must be renounced if peace, with justice, is to prevail.

It is neither right nor just that a few nations should own or control or exercise political domination over the wealth of the world. It is probably not too much to say that half of the world exists below the subsistence level. This is not because there is any lack of raw materials or of the good things of life. It is because economic nationalism, no less than political nationalism, has bedeviled the relations of nations. The result is that the peoples which possess the preponderance of the world's wealth project armies and navies to maintain their privileged position while at the same time the less fortunate nations employ force or the threat of force to secure for themselves a more equitable share of the world's wealth.

We support the following recommendations of the Washington Conference on World Economic Cooperation convened by the National Peace Conference which call for (*a*) improving the standards of labor and living by international agreement as is being done by the International Labor Organization, (*b*) access to raw materials on equal terms, (*c*) freer access to markets so nations may be able to sell that which they best produce in order to have the exchange with which to purchase raw materials, (*d*) trading on a basis of equality rather than discrimination, (*e*) currency stabilization and better coordination of financial policies, (*f*) an autonomous International Economic Organization similar in structure and function to the International Labor Organization and which would have as its purpose the easing of economic tension points and the development of a world economy in the interest of peace and justice.

We recognize that the close causal relationship existing between unemployment, dire economic need and war is both of domestic and international significance. We, therefore, express the conviction that the Church in its efforts to abolish war, should stress all effective means, both domestic and international whereby basic economic needs may be met and a more equitable distribution of economic goods achieved.

E. Colonies

Closely related to the problem of world economic cooperation is the question of colonies. The period of pioneer and colonial expansion is passing. We concur in the judgment of the Geneva Conference of lay experts and ecumenical leaders convened by the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches (1939) that "the task of colonial government is no longer one of exclusive national concern or national interest, but that it must be regarded as a common task of mankind, to be carried out in the interests of the colonial people by the most appropriate form of organization."

We believe that the principle of eventual freedom for all peoples is not only the recognition of an essential right but is also a prerequisite to the creation of that sense of justice and goodwill without which we cannot hope to rid the world of war.

F. The Conflict in East Asia

We recognize that the United States must accept its share of responsibility for the crisis in East Asia.

There are two basic principles to which any proposals looking toward a settlement of the conflict in East Asia must conform.

First: They must call for a strong and independent China, sovereign in her recognized territory and strong enough to control her own affairs and destiny. Even assuming that China could be induced to suspend her resistance, a peace which did not respect her sovereignty would only be the prelude to a continuing struggle. An irredentist movement would be inevitable, and at some date in the not distant future would break out again in an open conflict which would destroy the peace of East Asia and threaten that of the world. A truly independent and strong China is essential if she is to avoid encroachments of Russia, of the Western imperialisms and of Japan. No indemnity for American losses in China, or renewal of rights of a strictly commercial character, must be allowed to divert attention from this essential point.

The Japanese Government has itself announced that it desires no territory in China, thus recognizing the principle underlying agreements hitherto entered into by nations concerned in the Pacific area. A further consequence of this principle is seen at once to be the abolition of extra-territoriality and of foreign concessions in China.

Second: They must also provide for a strong Japan, no less in control of her own destiny. A prostrated Japan would inevitably invite encroachments from Russia and possibly retaliation from China. Japan's pressing economic problems and needs must be recognized and adequate provision made to meet them. Probably most important is that Japan be given reasonable assurance that she will not be denied access to her natural market in China, whose economy so well supplements her own, either by Chinese boycott or discriminatory measures, or by interference from outside powers. She should be guaranteed equal terms with other nations in supplying China's needs and in securing from that country raw materials she can use in her industries. With her propinquity and the character of her manufactures she will still have a real advantage over her competitors. Any proposals for a settlement in East Asia must seek to furnish Japan full economic opportunity and provide for her a sense of political and economic security.

1. Proposals Looking Toward a Settlement

There are certain essential features of a durable settlement in East Asia which apply particularly to Japan and China, and which must ultimately be decided by them. These are indicated here only as a part of the total situation, which vitally affects America as well as China and Japan. These features are stated in summary form below:

Features affecting China

a.

The cessation of "anti-Japanese" agitation. This assumes, of course, that Japan will take reciprocal measures.

b.

Negotiation of a general commercial treaty with Japan, giving her the utmost consideration consistent with China's own interests and with her commitments to other powers.

c.

The furnishing to Japan of fair and equal access, through quotas, to certain stipulated raw materials (for example, cotton, minerals, salt), where this can be done without injury to China's own economy, Japan to pay for the same through the ordinary processes of trade and commerce. No arrangement is contemplated here which does not fully safeguard China's sovereignty and freedom.

d.

Negotiation of a *modus vivendi* in regard to Manchuria, looking toward a permanent settlement of this question.

e.

The facilitation of travel and communication arrangements of all kinds between China, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea, provided, of course, that these arrangements are in no way an embarrassment to China or an infringement of her sovereignty.

Features affecting Japan

a.

The lifting of the naval blockade.

b.

Withdrawal of her troops from China. (The details of withdrawal and subsequent reoccupation by Chinese troops should be worked out by a joint Commission specially designated for the purpose. If desired, neutrals might be requested to act as observers under such a Commission. In regard to this section see also *America's possible contribution,* c. below.

c.

The return of all properties, both public and private, expropriated during the war.

America's possible contribution

If America could see her way clear to take some or all of the following steps, she would undoubtedly thus do much to facilitate a settlement of the situation in East Asia:

a.

Revise the so-called "Exclusion Act" and place both Japan and China on the quota basis in regard to immigration.

b.

Relinquish extra-territoriality, withdraw our naval and military forces, and surrender our inland navigation rights in China, within a very early period, say, within three to five years from the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese war.

c.

Endeavor to obtain the consent of the other powers now enjoying special privileges in China also to relinquish them, and likewise to withdraw their naval and military forces, within the same period.

d.

Seek further to secure the consent of all interested powers for the return of the concessions and foreign settlements to China. Should a three to five-year limit here seem too short, for example, in the case of Shanghai, a "special administrative" status after the analogy of Hankow might be arranged for a somewhat longer period if desired.

e.

Facilitate the opening of the American capital market to loans both to China and Japan, when peace is reestablished.

f.

Government credits to both China and Japan might also be considered in this connection if there are no legal or other difficulties in the way.

g.

In addition, America might offer reciprocal trade agreements to

both Japan and China, or at least some arrangement whereby adjustments in tariff schedules could be accomplished and whereby the exchange of central commodities from both countries could be assured.

Further steps

The following measures are worthy of consideration by all parties concerned, should they seek together a general settlement of the situation:

a.

The making of a regional agreement among the nations bordering on, or vitally interested in, the Pacific area, designed to contribute to mutual security and lasting peace.

b.

Consideration of a joint program of naval limitation and of possible non-fortifying of outlying possessions which would further promote general confidence.

c.

The negotiation of mutual trade-pacts which would foster and develop international trade and commerce.

d.

The establishment of a Board of Reference, such as that originally contemplated by the Washington Conference resolution dated February 4th, 1922, with provision for regular stated meetings to consider questions which may arise.

e.

In all new treaties that may be made between China, Japan, and America, or between these and other nations bordering on the Pacific, the following principles should be borne in mind: first, a provision for consultation in disputes; second, a provision for altering the treaty in the light of changing conditions. The Board of Reference, referred to in the preceding section, or some such agency, might well be of help in this connection.

f.

Co-operation in the regulation and eventual suppression of the traffic in narcotics.

2. Recommendations for Immediate Action by Christians

a.

Urge the United States Government

(1) to make use of every opportunity to explore the possibility of a settlement in East Asia along the lines of the proposals made in the previous section, and

(2) to give primary consideration as far as practicable to the settlement of the whole situation in East Asia in all negotiations looking to the making of a new commercial treaty with Japan.

b.

Seek to develop a public opinion favorable to the contribution to be made by America in facilitating a settlement in East Asia as outlined in Section on *America's possible contribution* in the Proposals for a Settlement above.

c.

Urge the extension of generous credit to China, both by government and by private capital. All will agree that China needs help in her effort to cope with the staggering problem of relief, in the organization and improvement of her economic life by the establishment of cooperatives, in the rehabilitation and advancement of education, and in the development of industry in all parts of unoccupied China.

d.

Give more active support to relief work in China. In this connection we would especially commend the work of the Church Committee for China Relief, which is the officially recognized agency of the Churches.

e.

Urge the extension of the "moral embargo" to include octane gas, crude oil, trucks, scrap iron, et cetera.

f.

In the event the above steps including the moral embargo prove ineffective we urge the American Government to make plain to Japan our desire to remain on friendly terms with her, but also to say to her that we cannot longer be a party to supplying her with the raw or finished products which she uses in her military campaign in China. As a practical measure for carrying this attitude into effect, we would suggest that the Government offer to renew our trade treaty with Japan, but at the same time put her on a reduced basis so far as the sale of supplies to her is concerned. Such a basis might well be, in our judgment, an average quota for the period 1921-1931. We believe that this basis would effectively dissociate the United States from participation in Japan's attack on China, while it would at the same time show Japan that our attitude towards her is friendly, and that our action is intended only to avoid injury to China with whom also we desire to be friendly.

3. Long Range Program

a. *The World Mission of the Church*

The most significant contribution which the Churches can make toward a solution of tensions in East Asia is the vigorous prosecution of the missionary program of the Churches. Christian groups have come into being in the countries of East Asia as in the rest of the world, and the potential influence of these groups for international goodwill is a fact of major importance. The Madras Conference gave undoubted evidence of this. The World Christian Movement is the one which of all others offers the most hope

of international integration in a world which has disintegrated into areas of suspicion, hate and fear. It is imperative that every effort be put forth to strengthen the Christian movement in all its varied aspects in the countries of East Asia and throughout the world.

b. *World Political Organization*[1]

All through our consideration of this complicated problem we have been aware of the fact of world anarchy. So long as each nation remains the sole judge of its own cause and so long as there are no instruments available which function in the no man's land of common interest, which lies between states, situations such as that which now obtains in East Asia must recur again and again. We have suggested some sort of a regional agreement among the nations around the Pacific, and some provision for revising treaties which may be made in the Pacific area lest the status quo become fixed in too hard and fast a mould and no allowance be made for the basic human fact of change. We recognize, however, that the ultimate solution of such problems as these calls for an organized world government to which certain functions of national sovereignty shall be delegated, and which shall function in the area of common interest between states, which is now left unorganized and in a state of anarchy. We would, therefore, urge that Christian people in all lands study this aspect of the problem of peace and make every possible effort to bring about a world political organization.

The Conference recommends that the *Memorandum on the Conflict in East Asia* originally submitted to the Conference as a study document, be made available to the Churches throughout the country for such use as they may wish to make of it in their consideration of this problem.[2]

III. Missions and the World Crisis

"THE Church is called today to live and to give life in a world shaken to its very foundations." It is confronted, both within and without its membership, with misgivings and with outspoken fears that the forces at conflict across the earth have rendered the Christian witness futile.

This Conference expresses gratitude to God that these misgivings and fears are not grounded in fact. It affirms that the Christian movement is not merely a fair-weather enterprise, but carries with it an all-compelling imperative and is as enduring as the love and purposes of God. It calls the Christians of North America to renewed faith

---

1. See page 12.
2. Single copies, 10c. Quantity orders, 5c per copy. Committee on East Asia, Foreign Missions Conference, 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

and participation in the historic and continuing witness of a world Christianity which demonstrates the love and power of Christ in the experience of the individual, in the fellowship of the community, in the social and political relationships of the nation, and in the achieving of a just international order and an enduring peace. It testifies that the reality of God in Christ as the Savior of mankind, interpreted in the world Christian movement, has made for the creation of a world community of believers in Christian truth, out of which have emerged certain definite and positive achievements, values, and hopeful trends.

A. The Forward Movement of Christian Missions

In the past centuries, and particularly since the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, the Gospel has penetrated every land and has influenced every people.

Its paramount achievement is that it has produced men and women of creative spiritual power.

It has brought into being and mightily contributed to the world Christian fellowship which is the ecumenical church.

The Christian message and its messengers have surmounted barriers between races, have interpreted peoples to one another, and have enriched their knowledge, philosophy, and culture.

To the world Christian enterprise men and women of every race and nation have made and are making their own unique and indispensable contribution, bringing the best in the material, the human, and the spiritual values of every land to add to the common heritage of all.

In a day when hatred and warfare are separating the nations and threatening the world with destruction, the Church of Christ in every land is drawing men together and is revealing to them their community of interest and of destiny under one common God and Father.

B. War versus the Christian Gospel

War, with its scourge of destruction, has disrupted the homes and schools and churches in many parts of China and upset the settled program of missions, but

The Christian message has been more widely declared than ever before, and the Chinese church today faces opportunities unprecedented in its history.

The European war has brought untold difficulties to German, French, Finnish, and other missionaries, but

A fresh power of Christian fellowship has developed in the united assistance from other lands.

Decrease in financial resources and missionary personnel has woefully hampered the carrying forward of the world mission, but

The churches in many lands have rallied to the need, and have undertaken burdens that demand real heroism.

Tensions have grown up between nations, but

Christians have exhibited in extraordinary ways fellowship across national boundaries.

Nationalism and other philosophies are increasingly claiming the complete allegiance of mankind, but

The Church with courage and persistence, proclaims its supreme loyalty to the eternal God as revealed by Jesus Christ.

The world crisis has brought appalling difficulties which would dismay and discourage the stoutest heart, but

We find the church and the missionaries pressing forward, convinced that this is a day of amazing opportunity to present Christ—the only sufficient answer to the world's need.

C. A Blueprint of Action for Christians to Advance the Missionary Enterprise

In the face of such testimony and challenge, there is a clear call to the Christians of North America to

1. Maintain energetically the ongoing program of missions, stressing evangelism as the essential task.

2. Be ready to take advantage of the revolutionary changes which the war is bringing in our missionary program, particularly in the field of education, and to give support to new ventures.

3. Realize that the world movement which we call missions is of its very nature identical with the life and mission of the universal church.

4. Summon youth to participate in the missionary enterprise as an effective and immediate means toward the realization of their efforts to build a more Christian world.

5. Restate our fundamental conviction that a universally accepted spiritual basis is essential to the permanence of any reconstructed world order.

6. Emphasize the urgency of a program of economic and social reconstruction as an essential part of missions.

7. Accept as integral to all our Christian witness the relief of human suffering, and demonstrate good will and fellowship through sacrificial participation with those who suffer.

8. Recognize the missionary movement as potentially the most effective agency in existence for the establishment of a peaceful world.

9. Encourage certain qualified missionaries and ministers to be students and interpreters of international affairs.

10. Make increasingly possible visitations of national Christian leaders to North America for work among the churches.

11. Be alert to new opportunities for Christian service, such as the spiritualizing of the cooperative movement, training of leaders in rural reconstruction, ministry to students.

12. Enlist a larger constituency for intelligent participation in this world-wide task.

13. Make clear that the missionary enterprise has demonstrated the possibility for effective Christian cooperation and has greatly advanced the movement for church union.

14. Discover opportunities to promote acquaintance and understanding among races, thus laying the foundations for peace.

IV. The Conscientious Objector in War Time

A. Declarations of Oxford Conference (1937)

THE Oxford Conference, in its report entitled "The Universal Church and the World of Nations," analyzed the varying views within the Church on the peace and war issue as follows:

"Here is the first obligation of the Church, to be in living fact the Church, a society with a unity so deep as to be indestructible by earthly divisions of race or nation or class.

"Wars, the occasions of war, and all situations which conceal the fact of conflict under the guise of outward peace, are marks of a world to which the Church is charged to proclaim the Gospel of redemption. War involves compulsory enmity, diabolical outrage against human personality, and a wanton distortion of the truth. War is a particular demonstration of the power of sin in this world, and a defiance of the righteousness of God as revealed in Jesus Christ and Him crucified. No justification of war must be allowed to conceal or minimize this fact.

"In all situations the Christian has to bear in mind both the absolute command, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' and the obligation to do what most nearly corresponds to that command in the circumstances confronting him. The search for the will of God is a matter of agonizing perplexity for the Christian whose country is involved in war. We have to recognize two widely divergent views regarding war—along with several that are intermediate. One view hopes for the elimination of war by the power of God working in history through the religious and moral enlightenment of men and the exercise of their free wills; the other view regards man as so bound in

the necessities of a sinful world that war will be eliminated only as a consequence of the return of Christ in glory.

"In practice this divergence issues in three main positions, which are sincerely and conscientiously held by Christians:

(1) Some believe that war, especially in its modern form, is always sin, being a denial of the nature of God as love, of the redemptive way of the Cross, and of the community of the Holy Spirit; that war is always ultimately destructive in its effects, and ends in futility by corrupting even the noblest purpose for which it is waged; and that the Church will become a creative, regenerative, and reconciling instrument for the healing of the nations only as it renounces war absolutely. They are therefore constrained to refuse to take part in war themselves, to plead among their fellows for a similar repudiation of war in favour of a better way, and to replace military force by methods of active peace-making.

(2) Some would participate only in 'just wars.' Here there are at least two points of view, depending upon the definition of the 'just war':

(*a*) Some consider that Christians should participate only in such wars as are justifiable on the basis of international war. They believe that in a sinful world the State has the duty, under God, to use force when law and order are threatened. Wars against transgressors of international agreements and pacts are comparable with police measures, and Christians are obliged to participate in them. But if the State requires its citizens to participate in wars which cannot be thus justified they believe that Christians should refuse, for the State has no right to force its citizens to take part in sinful actions. Many would add that no war should be regarded as 'just' if the Government concerned fails to submit the subject of dispute or casus belli to arbitration, conciliation, or judgment of an international authority.

(*b*) Some would regard a 'just war' as one waged to vindicate what they believe to be an essential Christian principle: to defend the victims of wanton aggression, or to secure freedom for the oppressed. They would urge that it was a Christian duty, where all other means had failed, to take up arms. In so doing they would look to the verdict of conscience as their ultimate sanction. While recognizing the general importance of supporting civil or international order, the maintenance of such order in the present imperfect state of society cannot be a final obligation. The Christian, though he must be willing to accept martyrdom for himself, cannot expose others to it by refusing to fight for them.

(3) Some, while also stressing the Christian obligation to work for peace and mutual understanding among the nations, hold nevertheless that no such effort can end war in this world. Moreover, while recognizing that political authority is frequently administered in a

selfish and immoral way, they nevertheless believe that the State is the agent divinely appointed to preserve a nation from the detrimental effects of anarchic and criminal tendencies amongst its members, and to maintain its existence against the aggression of its neighbors. It is therefore a Christian's duty to obey the political authority as far as possible, and to refrain from everything that is apt to weaken it. This means that normally a Christian must take up arms for his country. Only when he is absolutely certain that his country is fighting for a wrong cause (e.g., in case of an unjustifiable war of aggression) has the ordinary citizen a right to refuse military service.

"Of those who hold this view, some would admit that individuals may be called directly by God to refuse categorically to take part in any war, and so to draw attention to the perverted nature of a world in which wars are possible.

"In either case the individual must recognize in principle the significance of the State and be willing to accept punishment by the authorities for violating the national law."

B. Liberty of Conscience

We recognize that modern war has become totalitarian, and enforces its demands not only on men of military age, but upon the lives and conduct of all citizens, the productive machinery and the resources of the country, and that therefore the problems raised by military conscription face all citizens to a lesser or greater degree.

One of these problems is the exercise of Liberty of Conscience.

The Church is only fulfilling its most elemental duty when it seeks to arouse men to use their God-given liberty of conscience to follow the clearest insights they are given with reference to war. When therefore some of its members come in honesty and solemnity to a conscientious repudiation of participation in war, the Church has no recourse but to uphold both their right so to choose, and their freedom to take such action as the choice may involve. If the conscience of some Christians leads them to support and participate in war, and others to refuse such support and participation, then the Church must maintain the freedom of members to hold opposite views, in the spirit of Christian fellowship.

C. The Churches and Conscientious Objectors

To respect the rights of conscience is only the beginning of the obligation of the Churches. The Churches should make available machinery for registering conscientious objectors in their local churches and with their national bodies. There is a growing feeling that the Churches should challenge the principle of military conscription, that the exercise of conscience on the part of its citizens may be protected.

Minority opinion both within the Church and State is indispensable to the welfare of both.

As a citizen the Christian engages in legislative activity because government exclusion acts, etc., stop the flow of good will and because the destruction of civil rights of freedom of speech, and of the press also interfere with freedom of religious faith.

The Church does not seek special privilege for any persons in upholding the rights of conscientious objectors nor do conscientious objectors take their position as an escape from risk and suffering at a time when tragedy is the common lot of mankind.

In seeking to uphold by legal means the civil rights of conscientious objectors, the Church does so as a means of maintaining the religious freedom which God-fearing men must and will act upon, no matter who seeks to deny it, and the civil rights basic to democracy.

D. Services by Conscientious Objectors in Peace and War

The churches and the individual conscientious objector should not only study and explore the possibilities of services by the conscientious objector in wartime, but should undertake to cooperate in time of peace in activities which are aimed at the creation of a world wherein there shall be no occasion for war and to show him now where he can demonstrate the use of ways other than of violence as a means of solving conflicts both nationally and in the local community.

Many of these peace-time services have enhanced value in time of war and could be extended in such times as crises arise. Any service considered by the conscientious objector in peace time or war time should have value to society and to the individuals taking part in it.

Examples of service in peace time might be classified roughly as follows:

(1) Self education and group education to promote personal discipline, clarity of thought, spiritual integrity, training for social service, and group discipline for thought, prayer and action. Such activities would include study classes, international friendship groups, work camps, institutes of international relations, and efforts to overcome racial prejudices, national hatreds, and other divisive influences.

(2) Political activity, also, to secure legislation on foreign and domestic policies for protection of conscience and civil liberties, for economic and political justice, and disarmament; work against legislation, such as the Exclusion Act, etc., which creates international suspicion and ill will.

(3) Projects of reconciliation, rehabilitation and relief at home and abroad, service to refugees, work with the underprivileged, assistance to foreigners.

In time of war many activities need to be continued and amplified. Efforts should be stressed for mediation and stopping the war; work with refugees, alleviation of suffering, relief and reconstruction, fellowship with other conscientious objectors, care of their families, possible regular and frequent prison visitation, the organization of legal and spiritual advice, and the care of aliens who may be under a cloud of misunderstanding.

In the case of some conscientious objectors their services may take a *non-cooperative form,* such as a refusal to take part in any measures designed to help the war system in any way. In such cases it should be the part of the Church to give understanding and support to the group whose conscience led them to make their protest in these terms.

It should be pointed out that the development of some services in war time may easily become part of the military system. During the last war such work as that conducted by ambulance units, Y.M. and Y.W.C.A., the Red Cross, and food-raising units were so drawn into military services that any protest against the war system by the individuals working in them stood in danger of being lost. Experiences of conscientious objectors in 1914-18 were often tragic stories of finding themselves actually part of the war machine, though their intention had been to protest against it.

E. Recommendation to Federal Council of Churches

The Conference requests the Federal Council of Churches to take the initiative in setting up a committee comprised of representatives of all interested religious bodies, such representatives to be named by these bodies to consider problems concerning the conscientious objector to war. The functions of this committee should include, among others:

(1) The study of the Church's obligation and duties to those of its own fellowship who take the position of conscientious objection to war and to give guidance to the churches concerning their relationship with such members to the end that their fellowship with the Church shall not be broken. This may include the making of recommendations regarding official recognition of objectors through some method of registration in the churches and the providing of forms of service for its conscientious objectors.

(2) Conferences with the proper governmental agencies regarding the status of the conscientious objector and the procedures used by the state in dealing with him. This seminar declares its strong conviction that the handling of the conscientious objector should be a matter of civilian control at all times.

V. Responsibility of the Churches in Relieving Suffering Caused by War

OUR country lies in peace between two areas of war.

To the west, the conflict in East Asia stretches on into an indefinite future. Millions of victims of war-caused floods have been added to the victims of direct military activity. To the east, while the horrors of modern warfare have not yet reached their impending toll and men look with dread to the future, already other millions have been added by this conflict to those hundreds of thousands oppressed on account of race and creed.

America's own formidable problems of unemployment and economic maladjustment, bring multitudes to the verge of starvation in the midst of national plenty. Yet even so we can give humble thanks that our homeland is free from invasion or the threat of war, and that we have the means to remedy the wrongs if we will. As Christian citizens of our country, we must face the obligations of privilege. It is for us to be the awakened conscience of its Protestant Churches in the face of the tremendous need and our own comparative prosperity.

We recognize with joy and humility the impressive outpouring of gifts by our Jewish brothers and sisters, not only for refugees of their own race and faith, but also for Christian refugees. We are alike shamed and inspired by the way in which Great Britain, France and many smaller nations of the Continent have carried uncomplainingly their heavy burden of refugee populations, and are still trying to carry the load which has become too heavy for them. We confess with shame that the total recent contributions of our Protestant Churches and church members for the relief of suffering seem pitiably small in comparison.

The time has come to act. It is not necessary that we bear the whole burden, but it is our Christian duty to be in the forefront of all efforts to help the needy, and in certain cases to bear the burden in its entirety. We should be quick to respond to the cry for help from those who are hated for religious or racial reasons, or who are considered politically undesirable. We must not forget the missions of our sister churches, crippled by war conditions. Back of any defects of organization lie the basic facts of ignorance and a spirit which denies the validity of Jesus' teaching that we shall love our neighbors as ourselves.

We must make the situation in Asia and Europe grippingly vital to the rank and file of our membership, clergy as well as laymen. We must bring home to individual Christian men and women concern for individual sufferers. The sum total of even small gifts can work marvels and bear witness to Christ's grace. The essential sin of complacent comfort in the presence of distress must be made even clearer to all of us who bear the name of Christ. Prejudices unworthy of our Master must be dissolved by a fresh incarnation of God's love. Youth must be enlisted in such Christ-like ministry. The spirit of Christ

must dominate both the presentation of the need and the administration of relief. There can be no more convincing witness of our faith than sacrificial service in Christ's name.

We therefore call upon the Committee on Foreign Relief Appeals, jointly constituted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America to survey the need and give counsel to the churches, speedily to undertake the full task of coordinating the relief appeals which they have already endorsed and others which may need to be made, in such a way that the tragic total need and our Christian responsibility for meeting it may stir the heart and conscience of every Protestant Church and individual Christian to a response much more nearly commensurate with our favored position. It should lead in other measures that may be necessary, such as approach to our government for cooperation. And we call upon the people of our churches to welcome and cooperate in such a program under its leadership.

VI. The Local Church and the World Crisis

IN times of world crisis local churches are in danger of adopting a defeatist attitude. Small bands of Christians are likely to be overwhelmed by a sense of impotence and to ask, What can we do in the face of world movements? How can local churches influence world affairs? Is not the present world situation beyond our province to consider and our power to control?

Our answer to such questions is a challenge to every local church in America. We call the churches to a recognition of their supreme opportunity in the present crisis. In a world suffering the ravages of war the Christian community plays a saving and commanding role. God the Father of all counts all men his children. Christian fellowship transcends all barriers. Christian love is the unfailing power in all human relationships. As centers of worship, love and fellowship local churches are sources of unceasing redemptive activity. There are no limits set upon the healing, leavening and redeeming work the local churches may now do.

Today the world crisis lays upon local churches the inescapable obligation to relieve suffering, create brotherliness, extend the spirit of community, and seek lasting peace. They are under obligation to ward off hatred, pronounce war the evil thing it is, alien to the mind of Christ, promote understanding, create sentiment for and shape the policies of international goodwill, justice and peace.

Let no local church in the land evade its obligation or neglect its opportunity! Let every local church make the Christian solution of the present world crisis the subject of genuine concern, careful study, deep prayer and solemn commitment.

A. Principles of Action for the Local Church

It is our conviction that local churches should

1. Through their pulpits proclaim the gospel of universal goodwill, forgiveness and understanding with a revitalized sincerity. This is imperative in a world torn by misunderstanding and griefs occasioned by narrow nationalism, racial hatreds and selfish imperialisms. We believe the pulpit of the smallest church is a mighty factor in creating world-minded attitudes.

2. Learn to regard themselves as part of the universal supra-national fellowship which is the world-wide church and to strive to maintain the spirit of true brotherhood with churches of other lands, especially with those which may be involved in war and thus seem to be cut off from their Christian brethren in other belligerent and non-belligerent nations. Christians in warring nations so cut off from the world-wide fellowship of the church need our sympathy and understanding. In the growing ecumenical movement this sense of fellowship across national boundaries is already a reality which needs to be expanded and developed.

3. Seek to teach their individual members that the unity and universality of the church transcend all differences and barriers of class, social status, race and nation. If ecumenicity is to mean anything anywhere it must be reflected in the relationships which exist between the churches in the local community. This implies not only the fullest possible interdenominational fellowship, but also the largest possible inter-faith cooperation.

4. Teach their individual members to distinguish between nationalism and religion. In the face of the tendency to absolutize state and nation and to put loyalty to the state on the same level as that to God, the churches must fearlessly teach that state and nation belong to the sphere of relative, earthly values and that God alone has claim to our unconditioned loyalty.

5. Study the possibilities of bringing about a just peace and seek to develop among their members a willingness to pay their part of the price of such a peace. In particular, local churches should seek to lead their members to understand that permanent peace involves some sort of world organization to which individual states must be willing to surrender certain aspects of sovereignty, such as was surrendered by the several states of the American Union in the formation of the United States of America.

6. Teach their members to distinguish truth from propaganda and to beware of emotional appeals based on hatred for any class or group or cause. Christians should learn properly to evaluate all appeals deliberately designed to influence opinions or actions with reference to predetermined ends without offering opportunity for independent investigation.

7. To acquaint their members with the plight of refugees in various parts of the world, urge support of worthy agencies for their relief, and where possible, accept responsibility for individual refugees or refugee families.

8. Strive to maintain the integrity of Christian fellowship among those who differ on conscientious grounds as to the duty of participation in war. They should cultivate mutual understanding and tolerance of divergent judgments and should endeavor to counteract the tendency to identify Christian pacifism with political disloyalty. No person should be denied the right of Christian fellowship because of his convictions upon these matters. The churches should ask the state that no person be debarred from citizenship or denied any exercise of the right of religious liberty because of conscientious refusal to participate in the use of military force.

9. Teach their individual members that war and international ill-will have their roots in individual and community attitudes and prejudices. Selfishness in local church competition, greed in business, economic injustices and assumptions of social and racial superiority are local counterparts of national attitudes which create international friction and war. They should teach their members to distinguish between the Christian and the unChristian elements in the social order and to foster love, brotherhood, goodwill, justice, equality and cooperation as the strongest motivating forces for the good life.

10. Develop the ecumenical spirit through worship. Worship and prayer should be as inclusive as the spirit of Christ. In times of war Christians should be especially careful not to identify the war aims of any nation with the will of God and thus convert war into a holy crusade.

11. Strive to develop an understanding among their members that world missions and world peace are aspects of the same gospel and that financial support should be as freely given for the one as for the other. It is regrettable that in many local churches there is no adequate support for agencies devoted to world peace. As missionaries abroad are coming to be increasingly recognized as effective workers for peace so we must support similar workers at home.

12. Seek to guide their members toward an understanding of the privileges and obligations of Christian citizenship and to prepare them to undertake positions of leadership in constructive community enterprises and to assume positions of responsibility in local and national government.

13. Educate their members to an understanding of the essentials of religious freedom, which in our judgment includes (a) freedom of the church to determine its own faith and doctrine; (b) freedom of public and private worship, preaching and teaching; (c) freedom from the imposition by the state of any religious ceremonies or forms of worship; (d) freedom of the church to determine the nature of its

government and the qualifications of its ministers and members; (e) freedom of the individual to join the church of his choice; (f) freedom of the church to control the education of its ministers, to give religious instruction to youth and to provide for the development of their religious life; (g) freedom of Christian service and missionary activities at home and abroad; (h) freedom of the church to use such facilities as are open to all citizens or associations to accomplish these ends, for example, the right to own and administer property, the right of incorporation, and the right to collect and disburse funds.

14. Give prayerful thought and take concrete action in dealing with the cause, consequences and cure of anti-Semitism. The wave of anti-semitism that engulfs Europe and the anti-Jewish prejudice in America today are contrary to the mind of Christ and constitute a direct challenge to the local Christian communities of America.

B. Programs of Action for the Local Church

To achieve these ends, new and more effective means must be developed to gear the peace program into the life and work of the church. The following suggestions are made to implement this purpose.

We realize that there are many types of churches and communities. It is impossible to take cognizance of all local conditions, but it is our hope that the suggestions here made may be used and adapted to widely varying conditions.

1. THE MINISTER AND HIS WORK

The minister should not only hold before his people the ideals of human brotherhood and Christian fellowship, but should also be at the center of the practical peace program of his church. Preaching, worship, and the pastoral office are all vital in this program.

The tremendous problems for Christian people raised by the spread of war and suffering need earnest and repeated consideration in the pulpit. The worship services likewise offer rich opportunities for increasing the world-mindedness of the congregation. Worship has been called "the most ecumenical act," and there are aids to increase the ecumenical spirit. More worship material of this type is needed.

Pastoral counselling is an opportunity and a challenge in these days. Many of the foreign-born have heavy hearts because of the tragedy of their fatherland and the misunderstanding of their neighbors. Some of the hatreds of Europe may have arisen among national groups in the community. Many young people have personal problems created by the war danger. In many ways the pastor is called to a new responsibility in the cure of souls.

The complexity of international problems, the difficulties of securing adequate information, and the urgency of the world crisis call for intensive study and action. There is need for study conferences on

strategy and action techniques for ministers and laymen throughout the country. Those who plan preaching missions and national, state, district, and community conferences, should give major attention to these emphases to the world strategy of Christianity and to very practical techniques for action in the local community. The plans of the United Christian Youth Movement for "workshop" groups for city and rural youth in its area conferences illustrate this practical procedure.

2. PLANNING THE PEACE PROGRAM

If the peace program of the local church is to be effective, the minister's work must be supplemented by lay cooperation. Organization is vital to the development and expression of lay leadership. A valuable form of organization is the representative peace committee to plan and coordinate the peace program. In many churches, no new committee is needed, for its function can be fulfilled by some other church organization: an active missionary society, Bible class, social action or religious education committee. Function is more important than form.

In many situations, the promotion of a community peace council or society is a better starting point than the church committee. In any case, the local church should support such a community organization as a clearing-house and planning and training center. Unity of impact augments the effectiveness of each group.

In some instances, a survey of the peace education program or of the world-wide work of the Church is a good-starting point. In any case, the peace program should be integrated with the other sections of the church program.

A close relationship of preaching and study has been achieved by the Minister-Laymen-Partnership-Plan of the Unitarian Laymen's League. The minister meets with his laymen to discuss subjects from which the topic for a sermon is selected. After the sermon the minister and laymen meet for a discussion of practical ways to carry out the principles laid down in the sermon.

Another valuable method is that of quickening the consciences of church members through "queries for examining conscience," such as those developed by the Society of Friends.

3. GROUP STUDY AND ACTION

The kernel of international peace is group cooperative effort. There are significant existing channels of which the local church should take greater advantage.

a. The themes of international missionary study for the next several years have significant possibilities for peace education and projects; Shifting Populations, China, Democracy, Christians and World Order, and Latin America. With all denominations and all age groups studying in these areas in the same months the op-

portunity for extensive cooperative projects should not be over looked.

b. The Work Camps and Volunteer Peace Teams such as those of the Society of Friends are extremely challenging to young people and should be promoted widely.

c. Town Hall and other national radio programs offer unusual opportunities for discussion meetings and forums.

d. Cooperation with other local churches in the observance of Brotherhood Week, World Day of Prayer, Inter-racial Sunday, Armistice Sunday, Goodwill Sunday and other nationally approved seasons of special worship is recommended. Worship material such as Muriel Lester's devotions for World Day of Prayer should be widely used.

e. Summer Conferences and Institutes on International Relations and Social Problems offer unusual facilities for leadership training.

The local church and community should, however, originate and develop their own program adapted to the community needs. Some of the things the local church may well undertake are the following:

a. Peace and world-wide brotherhood education through the usual means of visual education, peace plays, world trade exhibits, selected reading material and study groups, the use of posters and bulletins, and in the wider community peace parades and demonstrations.

b. Establish inter-denomination, inter-racial, and inter-faith committees to deal with problems of civil rights, economic justice, labor disputes, citizenship and civic progress.

c. Form a local inter-denominational consultative committee for the selection and distribution of the best peace material.

d. Use the facilities of local radio stations for well prepared peace programs. The local press should be invited to cooperate on the presentation of pertinent peace events as well as news of peace activities in the church at large.

e. Especially effective peace programs or projects should be reported to your denominational headquarters so as to be made available to others.

4. POLITICAL ACTION

As Christians, it is important that we become acutely aware of the legislative action of our government. In a democracy we frequently fail to remember that Congress is elected by and is responsible to the people. As a practical means of acquainting Congress with the will of Christian Citizens we suggest:

a. Participation in national peace organizations which do legislative work, and whose programs and policies harmonize with the principles of Christianity; not only that we may cooperate in their

activity but also that we may help to promote the development of that unification of spirit and endeavor which has increasingly marked the peace movement.

b. Promotion of sustained discussion on specific legislation and the background for such legislation: sermons; debates; discussion groups; intimate round table meetings of individuals who may be effected by such governmental action.

c. Communication with congressmen to discover their position on proposed legislation.

d. Formation of a legislative committee if one is not already functioning in the community to keep in touch with measures of national and state importance. Subscription to at least one national and if possible one state information service.

e. All candidates should be visited in an election year for mutual discussion of their position on peace and social issues. The record of those running for re-election should be learned in advance. Reports of interviews should be published through the press, public meetings, and in other ways.

VII. Additional Recommendations

A. Transmitting the Results of the Conference to the Churches

1. The National Study Conference, convened at Philadelphia, Pa., February 27-29, 1940, does hereby express its deep conviction that the insights and results of this Study Conference be without delay mediated and channelled to the denominations and interdenominational groups for continued study and application

2. We therefore request the Denominations, the Federal Council of the Churches, and the Foreign Missions Conference to give serious consideration to the matter of channelling this information to the local churches and church groups through their State and area organizations, with a view to incorporating the studies of this Conference into the programs of the groups concerned

3. We believe that the Inter-Council Field Department in cooperation with the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council and the Committee on International Relations of the Foreign Missions Conference offers appropriate facilities for the development of a church-wide strategy whereby the purposes of this Conference can be most effectively brought to the Christian people of America. We therefore recommend that steps be taken to enlist the above named agencies in this endeavor.

B. A United Peace Campaign

BE IT RESOLVED *That this Conference* recommend an immediate united peace campaign aimed at keeping America out of war and at stimulating the active participation of America in creating peace.

That this campaign be conducted under the joint auspices of the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the Committee on International Relations of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America.

That in the development of this united campaign we work in closest possible relationship with Catholic and Jewish bodies to secure the participation of every religious group in America with a view to making a total religious impact.

That each religious body represented in this Conference, and all other interested religious groups, shall appoint representatives to join in this campaign and underwrite it financially.

That the campaign be implemented to the fullest extent by making use of the radio on the national hook-up plan, newspapers, et cetera, to produce a simultaneous crystallization of opinion which will come from every local church and community in America.

Note. The above resolutions were referred by the Conference to the above-mentioned organizations for such action as they might deem appropriate.